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COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

SPEECH

OF

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HON. GEORGE B. LORING,

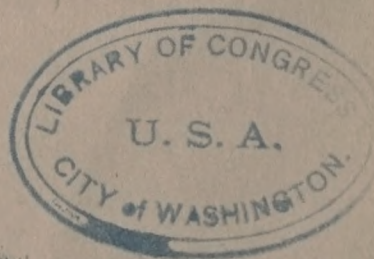
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

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IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

APRIL 12, 1878.

WASHINGTON.
1878.



Govt. printing office

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S P E E C H
OF
HON. GEORGE B. LORING.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 189) to reimburse the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, for property destroyed during the late war—

Mr. LORING said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The bill under consideration, providing for the reimbursement of William and Mary College for the destruction of its property during the civil war, is not now for the first time brought to the attention of Congress. It has often been considered here, and has been so fully discussed that it would seem to be impossible to state any new facts or frame any new argument in connection with the subject. The history of the case is very familiar. At the outbreak of the war in 1861 this college, which had become distinguished in the history of American education for the powerful and illustrious jurists and statesmen whom it had sent forth to interpret our laws and guide our national councils during all our colonial, revolutionary, and constitutional periods, was brought into antagonistic relations to the Federal Government. Situated as it was in territory where the right of a State to withdraw from the Union was most vigorously and earnestly asserted, it was involved at once in all the most active operations of the war in support of that assertion. With the zeal and earnestness characteristic of cultivated men, the faculty and the students of the college united in the work of dedicating its halls to the accommodation of confederate troops, and in filling up the ranks of those who were arrayed against the Government. In the catalogue of the college may be found a long list of those who laid aside their studies and went forth to meet the alumni of the northern colleges in that fearful combat which clothed the scholarship of our land with a new and unwonted radiance of devotion and valor, repeating the brilliant lesson taught by Themistocles when he led the educated Athenians at Salamis, and by Von Moltke when he "marshaled the educated Germans against France." All this is not denied. During the first year of the war, until May, 1862, the college was held, first as barracks and then as a hospital, by the confederate forces. From that time until the close of the war, except for a few hours on the 9th of September, 1862, it was occupied by Union troops and was used by them for the storing of military supplies and other purposes of convenience to our armies. In a skirmish on the 9th of September, 1862, the main building was burned by the Federal forces who occupied them, and at later periods of the war, during which the same forces held possession of them, "all the remaining houses on the college premises were, with the inclosures, burned

or wholly or in part pulled to pieces." And for this destruction a large body of the friends of good learning throughout this country desire that the college should be remunerated at the hands of Congress.

Now, sir, I have no desire to discuss this question in accordance with the strict construction of the law or with a keen eye to the exact nature of the unfortunate incidents which I have briefly recited. I do not care to condemn the college and deny its appeals to our generosity and kindness because its sons rushed to battle and laid down their lives in a condemned and misguided cause. I do not care to advocate its claims for damages on the ground that its property was destroyed while occupied by the Federal Government and for the convenience of Federal armies in time of war. I do not care to ask whether it stood on Union or confederate soil during that unhappy period. I do not care to bring the question where it will be involved in the intricacies of the law. I am aware that in view of the acknowledged "right of the victorious invader to tax the people or their property, to levy forced loans, to billet soldiers, or to appropriate property, especially houses, lands, boats, or ships, and churches, for temporary and military uses," the claim of William and Mary College for legal damages may be a slight and questionable one. I am also aware that by general military order 100, issued by our Government during the rebellion, "the property belonging to churches, to hospitals, and other establishments of an exclusively charitable character, to establishments of education, or foundations for the promotion of knowledge, whether public schools, universities, academies of learning, or observatories, museums of the fine arts, or of a scientific character, * * * may be taxed or used when the public service may require it," even while it is to be secure against all avoidable damage, and shall in no case be wantonly destroyed or injured under official orders.

If my attention is called to the fact that the buildings of the college were occupied for merely temporary purposes, and not by our Army for general army uses—uses tolerated by the rules of war which govern an invading army in an enemy's country—I can only reply that I am not considering the authority under which they were occupied, nor the character of the occupation, but the fact that they were destroyed in an unfortunate conflict, whose sorest wounds we would gladly heal. My mind turns naturally to the established law that friends and sympathizers of a belligerent power must share the trials and hardships and losses imposed by that power upon its enemies whom it invades, if they are found on the hostile soil of the belligerent; and I anticipate the argument which would be made against this case, even if the college had a loyal record, by those who will not realize that the terms of peace offered by the Federal Government to those who had failed in their efforts to destroy it were distinguished not only for justice but for a fraternal magnanimity never to be forgotten by either party to the great conflict and to the still greater pacification which has followed. When I am reminded that no evidence appears that these "buildings were taken possession of by our Army or by the garrison for general army purposes with a view to rendering compensation therefor to the owners," I can only say I have no disposition to place this case in that line where a legal technicality may defeat it or, where, by being favorably passed upon, it will establish a troublesome and expensive legal precedent.

I sympathize fully with those who would carefully limit the liability of the Government, with respect to the wide-spread and necessary

and at the same time distressing destruction of property which grew out of the civil war. There are woes innumerable in this direction which time alone can cover with oblivion, and which no public treasury could possibly compensate. It is not the destruction of educational property, or any other property, by authorized or unauthorized persons in time of war and in accordance with or in violation of the rules of war, therefore, that I would consider in connection with this case. I am ready to concede in the outset that no nation should be held accountable for "injuries done to others by disorderly, unauthorized soldiers belonging to its armies." I am ready to concede that a temporary occupation of premises, whether educational, church, or charitable property, by a nation's armies, does not create a liability analagous to that growing out of a permanent occupation, for which due compensation has been contracted by proper and recognized authority. I yield to law and to well-established precedents on all these points. I have no desire to break down the safeguards which the wisdom of experience has erected around the Treasury for the complicated emergencies which grow out of wars foreign and domestic. But recognizing the full force and importance of all legal obligations and duties, realizing the importance of avoiding every measure that can be interpreted in any way as a dangerous or a tempting precedent, I feel compelled, nay, I am anxious to consider the destruction of William and Mary College as an act for which our country should provide a prompt and liberal compensation. To my mind the case stands above all the legal objections to which I have alluded and belongs to that class which civilized nations have recognized as appealing to that tender regard for all man's endeavors to improve his moral and intellectual and religious nature, by which alone can we mitigate the horrors of war. If an unwritten law of broad humanity and generous sympathy for those institutions which elevate and refine and ennoble society is applicable anywhere, it is in a case like this.

Now, sir, in order that I may satisfy the minds of gentlemen here that I am not mistaken in assuming that institutions like William and Mary College have enjoyed an immunity from the destruction that attends on war, in every civilized community, let me refer to the statements and illustrations with which we have all been made familiar in the long period during which this case has been discussed. Of the destruction of these buildings General Meade said, it "was not only unnecessary and unauthorized, but was one of those deplorable acts of useless destruction which occur in all wars," and that he took "great pleasure in recommending the appeal of Professor Ewell to all those who have the means and the disposition to assist him in the good work in which he is engaged." History abounds with illustrations of the anxiety man has manifested to conduct civilized warfare in such a manner as to indicate his sacred regard for all institutions dedicated to education, religion, and charity. In all the civil wars of England her schools and colleges have been scrupulously preserved, and Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Oxford, and Cambridge, the ancient schools and universities of the realm, bear witness to the lofty determination of our English ancestors to stay the desolation of war before the shrines of education and religion.

Need I remind gentlemen of the prompt and resolute determination of the allied powers to restore the objects of taste and art which had been ruthlessly borne to Paris by the armies of Napoleon in his great wars? Is it necessary to recall the action of Great Britain in taking care that the paintings and prints designed for the Academy of Arts in Philadelphia should be returned to that institution, after having

been captured by her cruisers on the high seas during the war of 1812? Have gentlemen forgotten the reparation made by Washington to the college at Princeton for merely accidental damage sustained by it during the battle at that place? Have they forgotten the alacrity with which the British General Tryon restored to Yale College the manuscripts of its venerable President Stiles which were borne away during the revolutionary conflict which raged around and within that renowned institution? The practice of modern warriors and the rules of modern warfare have always provided for the protection and preservation of all libraries, schools, universities, and colleges. To barbarous invaders alone, on the other hand, has been left the ignoble business of despoiling the alcoves and tearing down the walls within which sound learning was stored and bestowed. He who studies history aright will remember that the high value set by man upon that national power which springs from mental and moral culture has led the cultivated people of all ages to the sacred preservation of schools and libraries in times of war. The conflict between those who have erected schools and colleges and those who have destroyed them may be said indeed to mark the strife between the conflicting forces of mankind. In no such conflicts have we been engaged; nor have we placed ourselves in association with those to whom education is a stumbling-block, but always with those who even in their bloodiest wars have not forgotten their sacred obligations to cherish the best attributes of man and in their civil wars have never forgotten their duties to the civilized world.

Now, sir, what is this college I am considering, what its significance, what its service, what its relation to the guiding thought of the American people? In order that I may impress upon the minds of gentlemen here the exact estimate I entertain of the peculiar claim it has on our respect and veneration and pious care, as a monument erected by the fathers to the cause of good learning, I beg to be allowed to dwell for a few moments on the character of the institution itself as one of the earliest fountains of American knowledge, and to appeal to the love and veneration we have for those who planted our free institutions on this continent more than two centuries ago, and who amid all their trials and sufferings looked forward with heroic faith to a republic of freedom and education. Why, sir, this college for which I speak holds a place in history as much more important and conspicuous than the ordinary institutions to which I have alluded as the dawn of a young and powerful republic is more radiant than the dim and somber decline of a decayed and broken dynasty. It was planted by our fathers in the wilderness when they brought with them to these shores their heroic purpose and the principles of free government upon which this imposing civil fabric now rests. Founded in the latter part of the seventeenth century it shared with Harvard the generosity and tender care which the ripe scholars of that day bestowed upon their seminaries of learning. "The generous Boyle," stretching out one hand to Virginia and the other to Massachusetts, bound these two infant colonies together by the tender tie of mutual gratitude to a common benefactor and friend. To these colleges the colonial treasuries were open when the accumulated funds were the fruits of hard toil and stern economy. In that powerful southern colony, where for many years the wealth and culture of England gathered on this continent and whose voice was always heard in every great crisis, the College of William and Mary was an object of the most tender regard, as it was also in England whence its benefactors came. Its doors were open to the best scholars of the old

country, who came here to pursue their investigations unmolested and to share the free thought of the New World. As time went on it became the nursery of the great principles on which our Government was founded and of the great men who declared these principles and defended them with their blood.

Are you sure, sir, that the significance and power of this college and of her elder sister, Harvard, have been estimated at their true value as the representative and guiding institutions of our earliest colonial days? Why, sir, they held in their hands and planted on these shores the best modes of thought and culture which made England famous in that era when she was tossed and riven by intellectual and moral and religious protests. At that time Bacon in science, Milton in literature, Cromwell and Hampden and Pym in politics all represented that advancing and protesting force which has given England her power and sent a democratic vitality into the colonies, which were largely peopled and almost universally inspired by independent Englishmen. It was an era of right, and not of privilege. The hard lines of scholasticism were breaking up. Great scholars were scholars for the people, and not for the schools. The Protestants and non-conformists, and separatists of England could not accept as a guide to their thought a system of philosophy which was made indisputable by the doctrines of a church whose ecclesiastical authority they denied and whose spiritual guidance they rejected.

The learned men of England who watched, and many of whom took part in, the colonizing of America had long applied their minds to the investigation of problems connected with the best systems of popular government. When William Brewster was graduated at Cambridge, England, in 1585, he carried his excellent scholarship at once into the work of guiding and counseling that little band of pilgrims who were then waiting at Scrooby for an opportunity to found an empire on freedom of conscience in matters of religion, a popular government on the consent of the governed. Occupying a high position among the progressive and independent thinkers of his time, he became familiar with the doctrines which disestablished the church in the most religious and fervid spot on earth in that day, and which shook the throne of England. And what a defiant crowd of scholars taught in the same school, inspired by the same thought and speculation, bent on the same purpose, flocked to these shores, bringing the independent spirit of the Protestant with them, under the care of the Huguenots of Carolina, the Covenanters of New Jersey, the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the cavaliers of Virginia, all joining hands in their great work with the Catholics of Maryland. When Roger Williams came to this New World and found no rest for the sole of his foot, until he had established for himself an opportunity to exercise the most "unqualified freedom of conscience under human government," he brought with him the culture which controlled the most powerful thought of England in his day. When Sir Harry Vane brought to the gubernatorial chair of the Massachusetts Bay colony a spirit of liberality and freedom which called around him the liberty-loving men of his times and clothed him with a power which Winthrop himself in support of magisterial authority could barely overthrow, he came fresh from Oxford and the best schools of Holland and Geneva, imbued with that spirit of learning which neither church nor state could subdue, and which won for him the divine tribute of Milton's verse and an immortality in the most immortal chapter in history—that chapter in which is recorded the founding of civil and religious freedom in America. And so came

Endicott and Hooker and Cotton and Raleigh, familiar with the faces of those who are now to us the classic English writers, born of a people who were untamed and untamable in their self-assertion, who were nurtured on the sublimest English poetry, upon whose heaven-kissing summits the poets of all succeeding generations have been gazing with hopeless wonder and admiration, and on the most defiant English philosophy which opened the path trod by all modern investigators—a people who declared for freedom and then fearlessly struck for it, who asserted a prerogative and then demanded a right, who in the Old World now rally round a throne as the insignia of their national power and in the New World stand by a constitution as the expression and embodiment of their social and civil principles.

Born as these men were of controversy, dialectics, and debate, they strove with each other on the “weightier matters of the law,” and disputed with ecclesiastical fervor upon the covenant and the doctrines until the integrity and safety of the State itself seemed involved in the controversy. The pious zeal of John Endicott in executing the laws against those who differed from the religion of the colony, the political ardor of John Winthrop in organizing a defeat for Sir Harry Vane as governor of the colony on account of his defense of Mrs. Hutchinson against the bigotry of the colonial clergy, mark the spirit and character of the controversies which sprang up in those early days of civil and religious freedom. But on one point they united: the establishment of a popular system of education in which all might have a share; a system intended to cultivate all men into a fitness for the enjoyment of the privileges of a free state, and for the exercise of its rights they never forgot and never neglected. They might exhaust themselves over “fixed fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,” they might rend the State itself in a contest over the covenant and the half-way covenant, the civil rights of communicants and non-communicants, but for the cause of free education as the foundation of self-government they joined hands, and poured forth liberally from their resources in support of the school-house and the college. It was education which had filled their minds with the doctrines of freedom, and they believed that through education all men could be brought to a true understanding of the church of Christ, and to an intelligent exercise of their rights as citizens of a free state. For the disputations of the schools they substituted the debates of the town meeting; for the private school they substituted the district school-house open to all; for a corporation of learning they substituted a republic of letters. They left behind them a system of state and society in which education would naturally confine itself to narrow channels, and they entered upon the organization of a state whose power would arise and increase from a general diffusion of knowledge through all ranks and orders of men.

On the soil which they reclaimed and occupied has grown up a system of education which offers its blessings to all, which indeed would compel all to partake of its living waters; a system supported and developed by the liberality and care of the state, and so universally organized that it would be easier to escape from the influences of the sun than from the omnipresence of the American college and school-house. To this western hemisphere they gave a republic of civil freedom; to the world they gave an impulse to popular education which has made the land of their birth as well as that of their adoption the abode of the most liberal educational endowments known on earth. Had the American colonists done nothing more than this, had they failed to establish an independent nationality and simply

organized their universities for the culture and protection of a sound political and social philosophy, they would have accomplished a work for which their memories would ever be held in grateful remembrance; a work whose influence is now felt wherever the light of civilization shines; a work in the performance of which the most powerful and enlightened nations of our day are engaged in a generous and honorable rivalry.

And not only did these colleges lay the foundations of our national characteristics, but they have taken a foremost part in that system of education which has deepened and developed our American nationality, and has produced an abundant crop of American citizens, not subjects, not persons destined to specific duties high and low, but citizens clothed with intelligence, and responsibilities, and supplied with abundant opportunities for the exercise of all their faculties. When Samuel Adams took his master's degree at Harvard in 1743, he selected as a subject for his thesis the following question which his career has made immortal: "*An supremo magistratui resistere liceat, si aliter servari respublica acquit?*"—"Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?" While Thomas Jefferson was yet an infant in his cradle on the beautiful banks of the Rivanna, this Boston boy, educated in the Boston schools, and filled with the effects of the Puritan culture of Massachusetts, had reached, even at the very commencement of his intellectual endeavors, a fundamental civil problem, upon the solution of which all the philosophical thought of Jefferson exhausted itself in support of the American Revolution, and to establish the affirmation of which Washington dedicated all his imposing powers. In the mind of this young graduate of Harvard the condensed thought of more than a century of colonial life found an abiding place, and the topic which occupied his meditations was the subject which lay nearest to the hearts of his people. He was not alone in his investigations. The highest and best laws of state and society occupied the active minds of that day wherever they might be found, whether in the assemblies of the elders, or in the austere labors of the Puritan pulpit, or in the town-meetings, or in the institutions of learning, the common schools, the academies, the colleges. Every village had its Samuel Adams. Every town record had its Declaration of Independence. From many a meeting-house went forth the announcement of faith in human equality as the foundation of the state long before the national utterance at Independence Hall. It was American citizenship which constituted the first great object of American education. In all the practical affairs of life the fathers exercised their best powers, and became good merchants, good mechanics, good farmers, good legal advisers, strong and influential parish ministers; and for this service they stored their minds with the best knowledge to be derived from experience and books. But they knew well that the great civil problem committed to their hands required intelligent thought and needed the support of cultivated minds as well as defiant hearts and strong arms; and while they had great confidence in the correctness of the popular impulse of their day, they had still greater confidence in the enlightened consciences and educated instincts of a people who believed in mental culture and made provision to obtain it. And to-day, as in the former days, surrounded as we are by the most perplexing questions of state and society, called upon to strike as well as to bear, laden with the trials of war and the highest responsibilities of peace, compelled to be ruthless now, and now generous and placable and forgiving, we must recognize the value

of the intelligence and thoughtfulness which are the natural fruits of education, and we should preserve and cherish with pious care every monument erected by our fathers to the cause of good learning, every institution founded by them for its cultivation and advancement. Time and war may destroy the monuments of our material grandeur, but I trust and believe that the American people, united now in a common civilization, bound together by common interests, will join hands in the higher service of restoring and developing every institution which has given us the undying power which belongs to a cultivated people.

I say, sir, the undying power which belongs to a cultivated people, because I have learned, and I desire to impress it upon the minds of gentlemen here who are engaged in guiding the councils of this people, that it is the thoughtful products of the schools, the principles declared by cultivated men, the fruits of profound mental exertion, which have alone been preserved and handed down to us, while all external grandeur has perished and material power and distinction have passed away. Of the great nations of antiquity which have disappeared and whose languages are now unspoken how true this is! For their great battle-fields the curious traveler now searches in vain. Their imposing halls are now silent. Their porticoes and arches and galleries are deserted. The greatness which they themselves admired is forgotten; while the genius of their scholars and poets and orators and philosophers shines still with unfaded luster. Through the darkness which envelopes the early history of England, it is the great principles of government contained in Magna Charta and the doctrines announced by Milton and the Puritans which shine still with supernal luster; and it is a prudent and sagacious obedience to these principles and doctrines which has given the English nation its vitality and permanency. So is it with our own country. How we linger around the first declarations of freedom and popular right made by the bold and true-hearted all along our pathway from the earliest settlement of the colonies. The forms and modes of government have changed and are forgotten. Of but small value to us now are the terms of charter granted to the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; the privileges bestowed upon Lord Baltimore and Oglethorpe, or the grants conferred upon the settlers of Virginia and the Carolinas. But we do remember that the fathers of New England, by a solemn instrument, in the words of Hutchinson, "formed themselves into a proper democracy." We do remember the glowing words of Warren: "I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused among all ranks and orders of men on the face of the earth as it is now through all North America." How do our minds pass on from the early struggles of the Revolution and the details of government in the several colonies to those grand assertions which roused and guided the popular mind and gave us the fundamental principles of a free commonwealth. The rivalries and strifes and cabals are all forgotten; but not the great conceptions of John Adams with regard to the future of his country; nor the abiding faith of Samuel Adams in "the sovereignty of the people;" nor the thunders of Patrick Henry calling the people to war; nor the fiery appeals of James Otis; nor the philanthropic thought of Jefferson presenting a great truth to the earnest and struggling multitude, for which they might fight and upon which we have at last learned to administer our Government. And do we weary ourselves now with the political controversies of the confederate and early constitutional history, the charges of corruption by which Washington was aggrieved, the rivalry between Jefferson and

Hamilton, the passage of political power from Massachusetts to Virginia? Not at all. But we do dwell upon the early declarations of those fundamental doctrines upon which our Constitution is founded; we do dwell upon the profound wisdom of Jefferson as he laid down the rules which should guide his administration, and we dwell upon these thoughts and precepts because whatever else may have perished these still remain unbroken and undecayed. For the temporary trials which arise and threaten our Government from time to time the fathers left no guidance, relying as they did upon the devotion and wisdom of their sons upon whom the trials might fall. But they did fix and confirm in our history those sentiments of humanity and justice which have triumphed over all obstacles; they carried into the practical service of civil life those political doctrines which occupied the thoughts of the most patient students of their day, and they sent forth from the halls of their colleges those great social and civil truths which are so familiar to us that they seem to have sprung spontaneously from man's uncultivated instinct. At Bunker Hill and Yorktown they wrought out their material greatness; at Harvard and at William and Mary they received their immortal power.

Mr. Chairman, I have endeavored to give William and Mary College the place to which I think it is entitled in our history, and to appeal for its restoration not on the ground of abstract justice alone but on the higher ground of national pride and affection. I doubt not I shall be called upon to sit in judgment here on many a demand growing out of the destruction of war and the necessities of the peace which follows,—for the foundation of a system of popular education which shall be open to that race which the war emancipated and left in the hands of impoverished States,—for the reconstruction of those great works which the war destroyed, and without which the value of a broad and fertile territory is nearly ruined,—for the relief in many ways of the wide-spread and necessary and at the same time distressing destruction of property during the war to which I have already alluded, and I shall endeavor to consider them, I trust, conscientiously, without prejudice, and with due regard to the obligations imposed upon me by the amended constitution and the laws of war, and with the thorough conviction that the time for presenting all claims of this nature should be limited either by statute or constitutional amendment, and that their growing magnitude may be summarily ended. No man can desire to add to the horrors of war even the appearance of injustice in times of peace. The remarkable experiment of government in which we are engaged rests, it is true, on "equal and exact justice;" but as conducted by ourselves it rests also on magnanimity and forbearance, which may encourage patriotic devotion, and on the broadest principles of equity, which may inspire confidence and disarm fraud and dishonesty. And so we may step beyond the bounds of mere legal obligation and repair even the semblance of a wrong in our devotion to those institutions which have given character to our people and which lie at the foundation of our national power and greatness. Had my own Alma Mater, had Harvard College fallen before the storm of war which burst over our land, I should be here appealing to this Government for her restoration, to this Congress for its bounty. In the same spirit I come for William and Mary, ready to forget her errors, grateful for her gifts to my country, proud of that record which she secured when, standing by her great sister in Massachusetts, she nourished and cherished all the noble attributes of American nationality and connected her name with that imperishable work of which every American is proud and

which can never be forgotten while correct forms of human government shall endure. From the heroic age of our country the name of William and Mary College can never be obliterated. And I cannot believe that those who come after us will be compelled by our economy, or iron justice, or sense of retribution, to remember as they gaze upon her walls that she owes nothing to our generosity and that she endures in spite of our neglect.

In advocating this bill, Mr. Chairman, I have discharged what I consider a plain and imperative duty, in view of our debt of gratitude to the past and the inevitable national harmony which the future will bring as the result of a policy inaugurated by ourselves. Whatever we may do here and now, the time is coming when the losses of this college will be repaid, in obedience to a natural sentiment which must and will animate the mind and heart of the American people in those years of peace and concord and mutual understanding and sacred regard for the rights of all men which I trust in God are not far distant. As the violence of the conflicts which have surrounded us becomes softened, and the wounds are all healed and the antagonism dies away, that affection which a powerful nation always feels for its ancestry will surely move some future Congress to relieve these burdens, should we ourselves fail to perform the honorable service. At this very hour this sentiment moves within us. As we contemplate the memory of those whose heroism and devotion laid the foundations of our national greatness, we even now forget our controversies and join in a spontaneous tribute to their worth as a common inheritance. On every anniversary of their illustrious deeds in field and in council, we assemble like brethren of one family and rejoice together in the work they performed for us and ours. Cemented as we now are by the radiance of the past, we cannot, I am sure, allow one of its most cherished possessions to be destroyed from the face of the earth. The very trials through which we have passed, the discord and conflict and sorrow, have given a keener and a brighter charm to the popular privileges for which we have suffered so much and to those spots in which they found their early home. The battle-field and the heroes, the halls where rang the great debate, the leaders in council, the tribunes of the people, the schools and colleges in which the devoted youth were trained, have now more than ever before a national significance and have become indeed a national possession. We preserve the mansion at Mount Vernon from the destroying tooth of time, and in its holy shades our differences are forgotten. We summon a grateful people to pay their tribute to the memory of Warren and his earnest and devoted comrades who fell at Bunker Hill, and the controversy is hushed, men but just now arrayed against each other join in a common joy, the strife is forgotten, and Massachusetts and South Carolina, New England and Virginia, stand shoulder to shoulder on the hallowed spot where the bones of a common ancestry repose, and the monument which is pointing to their heavenly home becomes a national monument forever. The place where Warren fell belongs not now to Massachusetts alone; the halls in which Jefferson and Marshall trained their minds for the high service of their country, the cloisters where the two Adamses, *duo geminos fulmina belli*—"the twin thunderbolts of war"—learned their great lessons of patriotic defiance, are the cherished possession of the people whom they delivered from bondage. It is not for the property of Virginia but for a national monument that I speak; and when I ask that a structure whose name belongs to this illustrious roll shall be preserved by a national bounty, I am engaged in advocating no war claim

for damages ; I am occupied in considering no precedent ; I am only calling on Congress to preserve the ancient land marks of our national greatness and to restore the monuments around which our brightest memories cluster and at whose feet we renew our vows as citizens of a common country and heirs and defenders of a common inheritance of social equality and of civil and religious freedom.

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